



Government Chief Whip  
12 Downing Street, London SW1

PERSONAL AND SECRET

PRIME MINISTER

I have come to the conclusion that a reshuffle now is preferable to further delay.

1. The risk of taking Willie away from Northern Ireland before the Assembly is set up is less than postponing the strengthening of your Government.

There will be a fuss of some sort whenever he goes, and there is no certainty it will be easier to move him later.

2. Willie is needed in a major role on the home front, and of course will do whatever you ask of him. He has expressed to me his strong opinion that Tony and Robert should remain unchanged (also Alec and Peter), so there are two Ministerial possibilities for him: Department of the Environment or Employment. He would inject the necessary politics into the highly political Department of the Environment, but you may feel there is even greater scope on the economic front. If you asked him to take Employment he would like to have responsibility for regional development as well, if that is practicable. He could be No. 2 economic Minister, and this would enable you to use him on a wide front.

3. This assumes that Willie does not become Chairman of the Party, which is an alternative on its own. I think the greatest need at present is for the Government itself to receive the biggest boost achievable. I doubt that can be done without Willie as a whole-time senior Minister.

/At the same time

At the same time the Party is not in good heart at present, which is to be expected in the circumstances. It yearns for re-inspiration which is a task for the whole Cabinet and not just the Chairman. There is no escaping the dissatisfaction with the presentation of our case. A symptom of this is the criticism of the Party Chairman. Although Peter's continuation as Chairman may become increasingly criticised, I conclude reluctantly that for the moment he and Jim are best left alone.

4. On this assumption I attach at Annex A a suggested rearrangement. It involves the retirement of two Cabinet Ministers, three Ministers of State and two junior Ministers (and two Whips). I suggest five other changes in the Cabinet, and others at a lower level.

I have tried to propose a considerable degree of change without going too far. With only one change of job among your eight most senior Ministers, there does not seem much risk of your being accused of overdoing it. Rather the problem is one of bringing enough freshness without too much pain.

I attach at Annex B a list of backbenchers who ought at least to be thought about for a place. Some are included in the changes I suggest. In many ways one would like to give more of them a trial but spaces are harder to create.

5. A number of personal problems arise. Without going into too much detail, the main ones are:

Macmillan

would be returning to his last office, though in the Cabinet. No other post seems as suitable.

Jenkin

would need careful handling, but is well qualified for next Session's Bills in that department.

Chataway

is pulling no weight at present but you may want to retain him.

/Chichester-Clark

Chichester-Clark

is worried about his future. Northern Ireland is bad news and it is quite possible he will not get another seat. The thought of resignation has crossed his mind: he has his children to cope with. If you think it right for him to give up his place, a talk with you would be helpful.

Younger

deserves promotion, but it depends on Betty Harvie Anderson retiring from the Chair (and we can negotiate that) to make up the numbers on Scottish Committees.

Stevan

has been in your mind for the Arts, but it would not seem right to make him Paymaster General.

Smith

has been deserted by his wife (and incidentally broken his arm in a fall last weekend).

I had thought he might be retired, but in the new circumstances it would seem hard to drop him.

Clegg

has earned a Departmental post and wants one. Robert feels he needs an extra Minister for next Session, and Clegg would be a useful balance in that team.

Walder

is about the only man acceptable both to you and the backbenches for the Defence team.

/MacArthur

MacArthur

may not accept a job, but there seems no harm in offering.

E. Taylor

would be better back in the Government. Though he has detractors he could be a nuisance, and occasionally to bring back someone who resigned is helpful.

12th September, 1973

SUGGESTED CHANGES

CABINET

Employment (and Regional Development?)	Whitelaw
Northern Ireland	Rippon
Department of the Environment	Thatcher
Education & Science	Howe
Scotland	Buchanan-Smith
Chancellor of the Duchy	Balniel
Chief Secretary	Macmillan
Retiring:	Campbell
	Davies

MINISTERS NOT IN CABINET

Trade & Consumer Affairs	Jenkin
Local Government & Development	Gilmour
Financial Secretary to the Treasury	Howell
Industrial Development	Higgins

MINISTERS OF STATE

Foreign & Commonwealth Office	Chataway
Defence	Younger
Northern Ireland	Dean
Employment	Grant
Education & Science	Stevas
Retiring:	Eccles
	Page
	Chichester-Clark

Members who should be considered for promotion (for one reason or another)

Pre-1970

Berry  
Clark  
Hall-Davis  
Hastings  
P. McNair-Wilson  
Morrison  
Proudfoot  
Scott  
Tapsell  
E. Taylor  
Walder

1970

Butler  
Gummer  
Le Marchant  
Parkinson  
Oppenheim  
Raison  
Sproat  
Tugendhat

Departmental teams under suggested changes

Defence

Carrington

Younger

Bick

Walder

Kershaw

Education & Science

Howe

Sandford

Raison

(and Stevas in place of Eccles)

Employment

Whitelaw

Grant

Scott

Environment

Thatcher

Peyton

Gilmour

Channon

Speed

Young

Rossi

Smith

Foreign & Commonwealth Office

Douglas-Home

Wood

Amery

Tweedsmuir

Chataway

Blaker

Health & Social Security

Joseph

Aberdare

Eyre

Griffiths

Home Office

Carr

Carlisle

Colville

Clegg

Lane

Northern Ireland

Rippon

van Straubenzee

Belstead

Dean

Mills

Scotland

Buchanan-Smith

Polwarth

Monro

MacArthur

E. Taylor

or Sproat

Trade & Industry

Walker

Jenkin

Higgins

Boardman

Heseltine

Limerick

Emery

Onslow

Tugendhat

Treasury

Barber

Macmillan

Howell

Nott

PROMOTABLES

Second Rank

Balniel (46)  
Gilmour (47)  
van Straubenzee (49)

Junior Rank

Buchanan-Smith (41)  
Younger (42)  
Grant (48)  
Griffiths (48)  
Dean (49)  
Speed (39)  
Stevas (44)  
Baker (39)  
Rossi (46)  
Royle (46)

Transferred at same rank  
(excl. Cabinet)

Chataway (42)  
Howell (37)  
Channon (38)  
Higgins (45)  
Chichester-Clark (45)  
Onslow (47)

and others

Retirable

Rippon (49)	Eccles (69)	Alison (47)
Campbell (52)	Page (62)	Smith (47)
Macmillan (52)	Eden (44)	Kershaw (58)
		(Royle (46))

Considered for Inclusion

W Clarke	(56)	Butler	(42)
(a Party Treasurer ?)		Gummer	(34)
P McNair-Wilson	(44)	Parkinson	(42)
Maude	(61)	Oppenheim	(43)
Morrison	(41)	Raison	(44)
Scott	(40)	Sproat	(35)
Tapsell	(43)	Tugendhat	(36)